THE WASHINGTON HERALD

PUBLISHED EVERY MORNING BY
THE WASHINGTON HERALD COMPANY
1322 New York Avenue. Telephone MAIN 3300.
CLINTON T. BRAINARD, President and Editor.

FOREIGN REPRESENTATIVES:
THE S. C. BECKWITH SPECIAL AGENCY.
New York Office.....Tribune Bldg
Chicago Office.....Tribune Bldg
St. Louis Office.....Third Nat. Bank Bldg.

SUBSCRIPTION RATES BY CARRIER:
Daily and Sunday.....30 cents per month
Daily and Sunday.....$9.60 per year
Daily, without Sunday.....25 cents per month

SUBSCRIPTION RATES BY MAIL:
Daily and Sunday.....35 cents per month
Daily and Sunday.....$4.00 per year
Daily, without Sunday.....25 cents per month
Daily, without Sunday.....$3.00 per year
Sunday, without Daily.....$1.00 per year

Entered at the postoffice at Washington, D. C. as second-class mail matter.

TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1916.

A Line o' Cheer Each Day o' the Year.

By JOHN KENDRICK BANGS.

First printing of an original poem, written daily for The Washington Herald.

A LIVING SONG.

He had no voice for song,
He knew no art,
Yet sang he all day long
Deep in his heart
For joy of living, mere,—
Just glad to be—
Himself a song of cheer
Was he to me!

(Copyright, 1916.)

What is to be expected of a man named Venustiano, anyway?

Representative Henry is in Texas looking after preparedness—in his race for the Senate.

It does seem that when some Representatives are in doubt they make speeches.

An expert bookkeeper has been defined as one who can make an income look like a deficit to a government examiner.

It ought to be perfectly clear to the pacifists that the preparedness advocates are responsible for the Mexican muss.

Gov. Brumbaugh, of Pennsylvania, has entered the race for the Republican nomination. Somehow the name hasn't the Presidential ring.

That "hot trail" down in Mexico has cooled off considerably during the four or five days we have been preparing to let loose our dogs of war.

If the troops want their exploits to receive proper consideration and plenty of space on the front page they had better get Villa before the baseball season opens.

The shipment of explosives from this country to Mexico has been stopped. Most of our citizens are hoping that the troops will begin to carry some across the border pretty soon.

If the bombastic Carranza would devote to the pursuit of Villa the energy he expends in preparing warnings to the United States he might save both countries a lot of trouble.

Considering that this is a campaign year Congress has accomplished precious little in the three months it has been in session. It has a great many things yet to do to make the voters sore.

Secretary Lansing has instructed Ambassador Gerard to return to the United States for a rest. The chances are that Col. House has told the Secretary of all the trouble the Ambassador has been having to keep his wardrobe supplied.

William Flynn, of Pennsylvania, demands that Col. Roosevelt, or "a man somewhere near his equal," be nominated by the Republicans. That, of course, leaves them no choice, though other Progressives are willing to concede that a man like Justice Hughes would do.

A former aviator in Villa's army says Japanese money and brains are behind him, Senator Tillman says New York money is financing him, while a third authority says it is Western money. As a matter of fact, his record entitles him to credit for acting on his own initiative, inspired by no motive other than the conviction that he has been given a raw deal by his former partners, Carranza and Uncle Sam.

Representative Borland proposes to discharge one-tenth of the civil service employes in Washington and compel the remaining nine-tenths to work not less than eight hours a day, in order to save $1,000,000 a year. Applying the eight-hour rule to Congress, how many members could be dispensed with, to what extent would the flood of oratory be curtailed and the cost of printing and distributing it be reduced?

Isn't it about time to stop talking and writing about the hour of "peril," the "crisis" that confronts it and our "fear" of what may happen here or there? Such words in the newspaper headlines, for instance, must be irritating to most Americans. Let these timid ones cheer up and stop shivering at shadows. There is not yet reason to doubt that the nation's soldiers and sailors will protect them. They have never failed in the past.

Balfour says the British navy's tonnage has increased one-third since the war began. Churchill is sure the German naval program has been greatly advanced. How does this square with the comfortable theory that at the end of the war the belligerents will be too weak to think of attacking us or anybody else?—Chicago Herald.

If I had lived two centuries ago and advocated what I do now I would have been hanged.—William Jennings Bryan. Umph! Don't fill us full of bitter regrets at this season.—New York Evening Telegram.

Urgent Work for Congress.

Senator Borah spoke for practical as well as patriotic statesmanship yesterday when he urged the Senate to postpone discussion of a water-power bill and proceed to the work of preparing the nation for war. But for the exhibition of indifference in Congress during the year and a half in which we have frequently been near to war, the country would be amazed at the spectacle of the Senate for a moment tolerating talk about a water-power measure now that we are in truth face to face with a war with Mexico, for which we are not prepared, in spite of the assertion of the misinformed advocate of the water-power bill.

President Wilson has ordered that Villa and his band of murderers be pursued and captured, and that means that American soldiers are going into Mexico. There cannot possibly be a turning back now. The attitude of the ungrateful, semi-barbarian Carranza leaves us no excuse for being misled concerning what to expect from him. He cannot capture Villa and seems even afraid to try; and when Villa and his brigands commit crimes on our soil, we find Carranza immediately placing obstacles in the way of his capture by United States forces, demanding the same privileges for his troops as he gives to those of a country whose citizens have been murdered, outraged and robbed by Mexicans on both sides of the border, and issuing bombastic manifestos plainly conveying the threat to give battle to the American forces. Surely it must lie in Carranza's power to do much to convince his people of the friendly and legitimate purpose of the American expedition, but instead he adopts a haughty and arrogant pose that can have no other effect than to arouse resentment and hostility to the "gringoes" to whom he owes his present position as Provisional President.

Carranza has practically served notice on the United States that, when its troops cross the border in pursuit of the bloodthirsty monster who is his master and who has stained our territory with his crimes, they are likely to walk into a war. If we are to have a war with Mexico we shall require almost immediately, according to lowest estimates, 150,000 soldiers for the invasion and to protect the border. That is the situation which confronts the handful of American soldiers who are about to cross into Mexico in obedience to the President's orders, and that is the situation which the advocate of a water-power bill in the Senate can calmly confront, and, pleading for the consideration of his measure, assert that the country is "well prepared."

If, a few months hence, the soldiers we are about to send against Villa, and perhaps against Zapata and Diaz and Obregon and all the rest of them, are cut and shot to pieces, their lives can be charged to Congress, unless Congress puts aside its water-power bills and its pork bills long enough to provide the President with all the authority he needs and all the money he can spend in the immediate preparation of men and munitions and field equipment, and to look ahead to the steps that will be necessary to equip and support an army of volunteers to re-enforce the regiments that may soon be in battle against odds. Can it be that Congress will devote its time to the discussion of water-power bills before it has done its solemn duty to the whole nation and its soldiers in the field on foreign soil?

We hear talk that intervention in Mexico will be a "large task." We have undertaken and accomplished larger tasks when we were a smaller nation and when there was less shrinking from them. At any rate, and whatever its size, we have undertaken this one, and we shall have to perform it. The soldiers are on their way to do their duty. Let there be no shirking in Congress.

A Proposed Desecration.

It is impossible to sympathize with the efforts of those New York business men who want to have the name of the Bowery changed to Centra Broadway. Not only is the present name the more attractive and the sentimental appeal al against a change, but it would seem to be a commercial mistake to sacrifice the Bowery. That the old Bowery has been redeemed is a fact as widely known as were the red and white lights and the characters, quaint as well as desperate that made it famous in the earliest days of Stev Brodie and Andy Horn. Everybody knows tha the Bowery today is staid and respectable, an thousands of visitors go there, no doubt, just t see how it has adapted itself to the role. Bu who would ever bother to discover and locate Central Broadway? What, change the name of the Bowery? Why not change the name of the Battery or Madison Square?

Submarine Piracy.

In his identic note, as reprinted in the Congressional Record of March 2, 1916, from the Chicago Herald, insisting on such a use of the submarine in its operations against merchantmen as would insure the safety of their crews and passengers and meet the other requirements of international law, Mr. Lansing states his fourth proposition as follows:

In the event that it is impossible to place a prize crew on board of an enemy merchant vessel to convoy it into port, the vessel may be sunk, provided the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety.

But how can a submarine convoy a merchant vessel into port? It must be a German port. No submarine has ever done such a thing, although hundreds of merchantmen and their cargoes have been sunk by submarines. And how can a submarine put a prize crew on board a merchant vessel? She cannot spare the men. And, if she could, where would they take the ship—to what German port for adjudication? Would the prize crew from the submarine take the captured ship from the British seas to some port of the United States, whose ports, by treaty, are open to German prizes pending condemnation? What is there, practically, that Germany can do, if she is going to continue the use of submarines for the destruction of merchantmen and their cargoes, but commit the passengers and crews in the small boats to the mercy of the seas, and conduct her submarine warfare as if admiralty jurisdiction were nonexistent?

In Mr. Lansing's plan or tentative suggestions, which were communicated only to the "entente powers," it is sine qua non that the captured merchantmen should not be sunk by the submarine, unless "the crew and passengers have been removed to a place of safety." "It would, therefore," he says, "appear to be a reasonable and reciprocally just arrangement if it could be agreed by the opposing belligerents that submarines should be caused to adhere strictly to the rules of international law in the matter of stopping and searching merchant vessels, determining their belligerent nationality, and removing the crews and passengers to places of safety before sinking the vessels as prizes of war, and that merchant vessels of belligerent nationality should be prohibited from carrying any armament whatsoever."

The merchantman is to have no defensive armament if the submarine will exercise its belligerent rights according to international law.

But it is a condition and not a theory with which the world is confronted by Germany's submarine warfare on commerce, and already the United States, in its note of May 13, 1915, on the case of the Lusitania, had taken the position that while submarines have a recognized function and a verified efficiency in naval warfare, their use as destroyers of merchant vessels and cargoes without adjudication in courts of admiralty, or adequate provision for the lives of noncombatants, is in violation of humanity and international law. This protest against Germany's warfare on commerce by submarines was expressed by the Department of State in the aforesaid note as follows:

The government of the United States, therefore, desires to call the attention of the imperial German government with the utmost earnestness to the fact that the objection to their present method of attack against the trade of their enemies lies in the practical impossibility of employing submarines in the destruction of commerce without disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and, if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats. These facts it is understood the imperial German government frankly admit. We are informed that in the instances of which we have spoken time enough for even that poor measure of safety was not given, and in at least two of the cases cited not so much as a warning was received. Manifestly submarines cannot be used against merchantmen, as the last few weeks have shown, without an inevitable violation of many sacred principles of justice and humanity.

Compare this statement, made by the Department of State of the United States (signed, of all men, by Mr. Bryan), with the following statement attributed to the British admiralty in regard to the circumstances under which defensive armament may be employed by a merchant vessel in the presence of a submarine:

Experience has shown that hostile submarines and aircraft have frequently attacked merchant vessels without warning. It is important, therefore, that craft of this description should not be allowed to approach to short range, at which a torpedo or bomb launched without notice would almost certainly be effective. British and allied submarines and aircraft have orders not to approach merchant vessels. Consequently it may be presumed that any submarine or aircraft which deliberately approaches or pursues a merchant vessel does so with hostile intention. In such cases fire may be opened in self-defense in order to prevent the hostile craft from closing to a range at which resistance to a sudden attack with bomb or torpedo would be impossible.

It was said on the floor of the Senate of the United States in the recent debate by a Senator who voted with the minority, that, upon the question of the right of merchant vessels to carry arms for defensive purposes, international law was perfectly clear. "But," added the distinguished Senator, "that law had its origin in the days of piracy, and while the reason for the law has long ce disappeared, the law itself still remains, unreasonable as it may seem, and at the beginning of this conflict was recognized by all the leading nations now engaged in the conflict."

It is hard to understand how the learned Senator could say that the reason for merchantmen being furnished with defensive armament had disappeared in view of this outbreak of illegal violence in which hundreds of merchant vessels and cargoes have been destroyed, without regard for international law, although there has been such a vast field for the legitimate military use of submarines by the German navy. Germany is evidently uneasy about this record of hers, and justifies it only by way of alleged reprisals for Great Britain's attempt to starve her into submission, although starvation has always been regarded as one of the most efficient and humane of the means of ending war, as shown on a notable occasion in the opinion of one of Germany's greatest men. The Federal government brought the South to submission largely by stopping her supplies and her exports; and in the war with Spain the United States blockaded the ports of Cuba amidst the horrors of "reconcentration," when the resulting sufferings for want of provisions were perforce endured by the very people for whose political independence the war of intervention was waged.

It will be time enough to object to defensive armament on merchantmen when Mr. Lansing's plea for the exercise of belligerent rights by submarines according to the rules of international law shall have been fully met by Germany, and meanwhile there should be no hesitation in granting clearances from our ports to merchantmen armed only for defense, and no thought of withdrawing protection to citizens embarking on those vessels in pursuit of their business. Until submarine warfare on merchantmen and their cargoes conforms to the requirements of international law, it deserves to be treated, in the interest of the freedom of the seas, like piracy, and doubtless an attempt would have been made to suppress it at first by hanging the perpetrators, when taken with the proofs, but for the fear of reprisals, which would doubtless have been inflicted on prisoners of w

OUR COUNTRY— By OUR PRESIDENT
A History of the American People
By WOODROW WILSON

Published by a special arrangement with the President through The McClure Newspaper Syndicate.

A Depreciated Currency.

Southerners knew themselves dependent on Europe or the northern States for almost every yard of cloth, every coat or shoe or hat that they wore; for their agricultural implements, carpenter's tools, wagons, cordage, nails, harness, saddles, axes, tubs, buckets, their very chemicals and medicinal drugs,—for everything except their bread and meat.

The war shut them close within their boundaries. The cordon of blockading fleets all but sealed their ports; the steady extension of the federal lines down the valley of the Mississippi River and across the broad reaches of the States of Mississippi and Tennessee to the southern spurs of the Appalachians at Chattanooga thrust their western frontier in to the mountains.

Between that impenetrable wall and the closed seas they were pent up, with no markets, no means of life or comfort or subsistence, no military supplies save such as they could themselves make or take from their enemy.

They could get no more railroad iron, no more locomotives, no more railway carriages or cars for freight, no more steam boilers or engines, no more telegraph wire, no more spades to use in the trenches, unless, in the midst of war, they created out of hand an entire industrial system, for which they had neither trained master mechanics nor fit workmen.

Her cotton, her tobacco, and her rice, had supplied the South with the wealth with which she had paid the prices of the world for her clothing and her tools and all the varied product of the factories.

Of the great staples rice and cotton she had almost a monopoly. Her cotton fields supplied half the world; her rice and tobacco found their way into every market. Nearly one-third of the Indian corn of the country, moreover, came from her plantations.

But, without markets, the crops were valueless. The value of the cotton exported in 1860 had been $202,741,351. In 1861 it was but $42,000,000; in 1862 but $4,000,000.

The value of the rice exported in 1860 had been $2,567,399. The value of that exported in 1862 was $156,889. The rice fields, moreover, lay upon the exposed southern coasts, where the federal fleets gathered stronger and stronger month by month, and had presently to be abandoned.

It was no slight embarrassment and bred a great disturbance of values that there was no way, so long as she was thus shut in, by which the South could replenish her stock of specie.

Some specie there was, of course, in the banks; some came in at the outset by way of loans obtained abroad, before the blockading fleets were numerous enough to intercept it; but its quantity was insignificant as compared with what was needed to hold the currency stable when treasure was being poured out for the war.

The bulk of it was paid out almost at once to meet foreign balances.

Private individuals hoarded all they could lay their hands on, and it practically passed out of circulation. Paper money took its place, the promises of States as well as the Confederate government itself; grew in volume from month to month with startling rapidity; and sank in value as the old continental paper had sunk in the days of the Revolution.

No man knew for how much he was selling his crops when he sold them for paper. No man could guess how much of that questionable currency would be necessary to pay his debts another year.

Postal clerks at Richmond presently found themselves obliged to resign because they could not live on a salary of nine thousand dollars.

Tomorrow: A Lean and Hungry Land.

The Herald's Army and Navy Department

Latest and Most Complete News of Service and Personnel Published in Washington.

By E. B. JOHNS.

Dispite the announcements of Chairman Tillman, of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs, and Chairman Padgett, of the House Committee on Naval Affairs, far from satisfactory progress is being made toward the passage of a naval personnel bill. It will be recalled not only the Secretary of the Navy but both chairmen of the naval affairs committees stated that there would be some comprehensive naval personnel legislation at this session.

The delay to a great extent is due to the extended consideration which the naval personnel board gave the subject For over a year the board was working on a bill and even now some of the members are not satisfied with the bill. Although the House committee is not ready to take up the bill at present, an unfavorable impression has been created among the members of the committee by the failure of the navy to agree upon the terms of the bill.

Chairman Tillman, apparently growing impatient, addressed a letter to the Navy Department and asked for the personnel board's report. The report was sent up to both committees and it was assumed that the Senate committee would take up the bill immediately. But the report was followed by a letter from the Secretary in which he stated that he wanted to make some further recommendations.

As an emergency measure the Army League asks Congress to pass the Chamberlain bill immediately. This, it insists, would give the President an adequate force to deal with the Mexican situation. If the entire country is to be occupied, the league in its statement says, it will be necessary to call out a volunteer army of 300,000 in addition to a regular army of 250,000. The Chamberlain bill fixes the peace strength of the regular army at 178,000 and the war strength at 248,000.

In the opinion of Admiral Fletcher, promotion by selection would be detrimental to the best interests of the naval service. Other officers who appeared before the House Committee on Naval Affairs declared that this system should be carefully safeguarded, and expressed doubt as to whether it could be worked out satisfactorily, but the commander-in-chief of the Atlantic fleet was the first to express himself as opposed to the system of promotion that has been recommended by the Secretary of the Navy and the personnel board.

As a substitute for promotion by selection Admiral Fletcher proposed that Congress authorize the President to transfer annually not exceeding four per cent of the captains, commanders, and lieutenant-commanders of the active lists to duty in other government service. He argued that navy officers would be fully qualified for the lighthouse service, coast survey service, consular service, diplomatic service, and as instructors of machinery. In this capacity the government could secure excellent service from them and at the same time create a satisfactory flow of promotion in the navy.

The Admiral said that in order to provide sufficient personnel for the administration's naval program for the next six years, the number of officers authorized in the grades of rear admiral, captain, and commander shall be increased annually as follows: Rear admirals, 2; captains, 5; commanders, 15. All lieutenants of eight years' standing shall be promoted to lieutenant-commander. All lieutenants (junior grade) or five years standing shall be promoted to lieutenant.

West Point Notes.

West Point, N. Y., March 13—Capt. and Mrs. Rethers had dinner for Col. and Mrs. Gordon, Col. and Mrs. Tschappat, Capt. and Mrs. Carter, Lieut. and Mrs. Cunningham. Lieut. and Mrs. Miner joined for bridge, when prizes were won by Col. Gordon, Capt. Carter and Lieut. Miner.

Capt. and Mrs. Worcester's guests at dinner were Maj. and Mrs. Bell, Capt. and Mrs. Carter, Lieut. and Mrs. Booton, Miss Todd, Miss Hunter, Capt. Steese and Lieut. Stanton.

Mrs. Morrison had one table of bridge on Friday, when her guests were Mesdames Walker, Cunningham and MacMillan. The prize was won by Mrs. MacMillan. After the game Mrs. Stuart and Mrs. Asensio joined at tea.

Col. and Mrs. Townsley's guests at dinner were Mrs. King, Capt. and Mrs. Carter. After dinner Col. and Mrs. Gordon and Col. and Mrs. Tschappat came in for a game of bridge, Mrs. King and Mrs. Tschappat winning.

Miss Golden Ruggles, daughter of Col. Ruggles, was the guest of Capt. and Mrs. Harrington for the week-end.

ARMY ORDERS.

Leave of absence for twenty days is granted First Lieut. Gordon E. Young, Corps of Engineers.

Leave of absence for two months, to take effect upon his relief from his present duties, is granted First Lieut. William H. Garriere, jr., cavalry.

By direction of the President, the retirement of Col. Walter H. Chatfield, Second Infantry, from active service on March 11, 1916, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved June 30, 1882, is announced.

Capt. Andrew C. Wright, Twenty seventh Infantry, is relieved from treatment at the Letterman General Hospital, San Francisco, Cal., and will proceed to join his regiment.

By direction of the President, Capt. William A. Carleton, Thirtieth Infantry, is detailed for service and to fill a vacancy in the Quartermaster Corps, vice Capt. William E. Hunt, Quartermaster Corps, who is relieved from detail in that corps.

First Lieut. Sidney D. Maize, Twelfth Cavalry, is relieved from duty at Fort Mackenzie, Wyo., and will proceed to join his troop.

First Lieut. Edward Dowdle, Medical Reserve Corps, is ordered to report in person to the commanding officer, Fort Ontario, N. Y., for temporary duty, and upon the completion thereof will return to his home, and upon arrival will report by telegraph to the Adjutant General of the Army. Lieut. Dowdle is relieved from active duty in the Medical Reserve Corps, to take effect upon his arrival at his home.

NAVAL ORDERS.

MOVEMENTS OF VESSELS.

Arethusa, arrived Port Arthur, Tex., March 13. Arkwright, Birmingham and Castine, arrived Guantanamo, March 10. Eagle, sailed for Haitian waters, March 11. Fanning, arrived Guantanamo, March 10. Flusser, arrived Key West, March 11. Glacier, arrived San Francisco, March 10. Hector, arrived Boston, March 11. Jacob Jones, arrived Delaware Breakwater, March 11. Jarvis, arrived Guantanamo, March 10. Kalk, sailed for Pensacola, March 11. Kanawha, sailed for Hampton Roads, March 11. Mayflower, arrived Washington, March 13. Monaghan, arrived Mobile, March 11. Morris, arrived Newport, March 11. Nicholson and Patterson, arrived Guantanamo, March 9. Pennsylvania, arrived New York, March 10. Peoria, sailed for Pensacola, March 11. Potomac, arrived Cristobal, March 11. Preble, arrived San Pedro, March 10. Preston, sailed for Key West, March 12. Reid, arrived Charleston Harbor, March 11. Roe, arrived Port au Prince, March 11. Tennessee, sailed for Trinidad, March 11. Terry, arrived Pensacola, March 11. Walke, arrived Key West, March 13. Winslow, arrived Guantanamo, March 10. Worden, arrived Pensacola, March 10. Nero, arrived San Pedro, March 10.

NOTES.

The Nevada was placed in commission at the Navy Yard, Boston, on March 11, 1916.

ORDERS TO OFFICERS.

Lieut. C. R. Clark, to charge of naval radio station, Sayville, N. Y.

Ensign T. B. Thompson, to connection L-9 and duty on board when commissioned.

PROHIBITION

HUTCHINS HAPGOOD.

[Hutchins Hapgood is the author of a number of notable books interpreting our modern sociological problems in terms of human values. These books include "The Spirit of the Ghetto," "The Autobiography of a Thief," "The Spirit of Labor," "An Anarchist Woman," and "Types From City Streets." Mr. Hapgood is a graduate of Harvard, '92, and has done a great deal of periodical and magazine work.]

The present mood of the United States, like that of Europe, is temperate. But, with this chastened mood in the background, the evil of prohibition rears its ignorant head in the spectacular foreground of our political and social life. The cause of temperance is the cause of civilization. The cause of prohibition indicates an underlying fanaticism which is never present in the most enlightened communities.

The most beautiful civilizations of the past have never been Puritanical. Their principle has been one of balance and proportion, and their spirit that of personal freedom. It may be said with essential truth that all high beauty, whether of plastic art or of social conduct, is inseparable from a fine and just proportion. Proportion is a necessary element of true form, whether in art or in conduct. The classic example of the Greeks at their best period will occur to every reader, says an article in the Forum.

The bottle is a symbol of both good and evil. In itself it is good, like sexual love, but like everything else that is good, and especially like love, it is dangerous in proportion to its virtue. To prohibit the use of wine, and other drinks that express the spirit of wine, is in principle the same as to prohibit love, on the ground that it often leads to great evil. It is like trying to suppress life, because life involves such terrible things. The love of life itself may be so feverish and intense that it consumes one—the love of work, the love of beauty, may be a devouring passion, and as such partly evil. Even such love should be controlled by a certain element of coolness, of the recognition of other considerations, which introduces the necessary form, establishes that equilibrium which is the true culture. The big moral wrecks that I know are all due to an extreme attitude, excess in self-indulgence or in self-renunciation—over-expression or over-repression—and the two are intimately related. There is an inevitable swing from one extreme to the other. Deeply dissipated persons have a Puritanical streak, or represent a reaction from something else that is evil, such as social narrowness or industrial and political injustice—from despair because the conditions of their lives shut out from them richness and joy.

Cause and Effect Reversed.

Let us see how the strong Prohibition movement, which is even attempting a national law against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating drinks, is related, in some detail, to various aspects of our community life.

There exist in our society, as in all societies, crime, poverty and disease. The Prohibitionists maintain, some sincerely and some insincerely, fanatically and hypocritically—sometimes they mean well, sometimes they do not—that drink is, if not the only cause, at least an important cause of these evils of crime, poverty and disease. What they do not see, or what they pretend not to see—sometimes one, sometimes the other—is that drunkenness is much more the result of crime, poverty and disease than the cause; that drunkenness is born of bad social industrial and cultural conditions, and is not in any important sense a cause of them. They do not see, or will not acknowledge that they see, that to do away with drunkenness, we must do away with the underlying social and industrial causes of drunkenness, that to get rid of the drink evil, it is not enough to legislate against it or try to repress it, but to be willing to criticise ourselves as a society and as an imperfect culture, and to introduce some constructive agencies which will stimulate our social vitality. We cannot suppress drunkenness with the policeman's club or by the mandates of the legislature; that has been proved to any intelligent student's satisfaction.

It is too much to expect, human nature being as it is, that individuals and groups of individuals who occupy a position of undue and harmful advantage, will, of their own free will, for the sake of getting rid in large measure of crime, poverty and drunkenness, give up any measure of that advantage, industrial or social. But we must, at any rate, as critics, call them down from their position of conscious or unconscious hypocrisy.

There are, for example, many manufacturers who are discouraging drinking among their employes and along with these manufacturers go a large crowd of preachers, editorial writers, politicians, and women also, hypnotized by the "morality" of Big Business, who echo and re-echo the evil of drink as an underlying social evil. These men, and that very large proportion of the community dominated by the interests and psychology of these men, are naturally inclined to regard, or profess to regard, drink as the cause of social and industrial evil, rather than their own unjust privileges and narrow ideals.

"Drys" Delay Labor Reform.

It is easy to see that if the community, and especially the working people, can be led to believe that their troubles are due in large degree to drink, their attention will be in equal degree taken from the need of social and labor agitation leading to political and industrial reforms. If a workingman believes that the cause of his difficulties is that he drinks one or many glasses of beer, the work of the labor organizer in trying to arouse him to take his part in economic reform is much more difficult. So that the anti-saloon and prohibition agitation is calculated, if not designed, to thwart the real labor movement.

It is also easy to see that if the workingman gives up his glass of beer, he and his family can live on less, and that the

CONTINUED ON PAGE TEN